

# WHEN SPORTS CONQUERED THE REPUBLIC: A FORGOTTEN CHAPTER FROM THE «ROARING TWENTIES»

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## I

Play, competition, *agon*, the struggle of man against man, go back to mythical times; bards have celebrated and glorified them from the dawn of time. The national epics sing of them (in Germany the Nibelungensaga); later chivalric literature described jousting. From Klopstock(1) to Stefan George(2) and Rilke(3) in modern times, literature sings the praises of the enjoyable pastime of play, which contains the "beautiful, divine spark of joy"(4). Play is often taken to include physical exercise, but it means more than simple physical training. Competition, in its literary incarnation, acquires a symbolic character, a symbolic value. The expression "the nobility of the body" extends beyond the purely physical event. Games, hiking, mountain climbing, competitive activities are said to possess an educational value.(5)

In the twentieth century and its literature this situation changes completely. Among the designations applied to our age, there are three that fit together perfectly, although they originate in totally different areas: the artist calls it "the physical century,"(6) the historian the "age of the masses," and the philosopher of sports calls it the "century of sports." The content of the first two definitions forms the presupposition for the unparalleled expansion and increase in influence of sports in the twentieth century. At the same time, it becomes clear why, at least in Germany, sports were not able to achieve the status of a cultural phenomenon of the first importance at the very beginning of the century, but only after the First World War--a fact reflected precisely in German literature: the unspeakable suffering of the

war, among the starving non-combatants back home as well as those at the front itself, created the "physical century." And it was only the huge mass movements during the war years and the mass political action at the close of the war and in the revolutionary confusion of 1918-1919 which followed that announced the coming of the "mass age." Moreover, it was not until the collapse of the German Empire that external barriers to sports were removed. Public boxing fights had been prohibited until then and all kinds of athletic events had required the permission of the police.

In the twenties, sports conquered the Weimar Republic. Jazz, movies and sports constitute the trio that determined popular culture until 1933. A disjunction between play and sports arose: play was the old, sports the new. We can observe this in literature: conservative, bourgeois authors stick to the traditional forms of play with "educational value,"(7) the brash young writers of the "New Sobriety" represent primarily the sporting event typical of their time. "Ideal sport," in the sense of the ancient notion of *kalokagathia*, the good, the true and the beautiful, of the olympic idea, the cultivation of body and soul, on the one hand and sensational sport on the other diverge.(8) Of course, even the former, ideal sport, was concerned more than it had been with the absolute, the ultimate effort--records became an obsession, a mania, a subject of public discussion, a favored theme of the press, in short, "headline sports." Even traditional varieties of sport tend toward athletic excesses, turn into modern record-seeking sports and resemble anything but "joyful athletic play,"(9) as the books and theoreticians of sports of the day pretended. The beauty and "poetry of sport"(10) that they claimed to perceive existed alongside the pretty young girl, who according to a verse by Erich Kästner shows "how beautifully she can swing an [Indian] club," the bloodied face of the boxer, the pain-torn grimace of the marathon runner, indeed even the body of the Finnish miracle runner Nurmi (the result of a one-sided specialization) must be considered not beautiful, a form of mannerism when expressed in artistic terms of style.(11)

But not only the old olympic disciplines, the classic sports of track and field and boxing, wrestling and shot-putting fall into the clutches of the pressure for performance due to an unthinking adulation of the record--not only they are transformed. Everything that had even only recently become a possible object for competition, through technological development, for example, is heed-

lessly raised to the status of a sport. Now, nearly everything is so considered. The physical training of Friedrich Ludwig Jahn, the "Turnvater," becomes gymnastics; dance, rooted in mythical antiquity, becomes competitive dancing; balloonists, dirigible pilots, kite fliers and sail fliers become aviators, aeronauts, competitive pilots; the gentleman horseman becomes a competitive rider; ball games become sports; bike riding becomes bicycle competition (instead of Richard Dehmel's "bike-rider's bliss" we have the brutal torment of six-day bicycle races); casual mountain climbing is termed "mountain sport" and "alpinism"; skiing and ice-skating become "winter sports"; Brecht's enjoyable "paddling in lakes and rivers,"(12) boating, diving, sailing and underwater swimming are christened "water sports," driving develops into motor-racing (the auto tourist is transformed into the race driver), and boxers become members of the German Association of Boxers (in 1919). Indeed, even inherently non-contact sedentary activities such as chess, riddle-solving, and card-playing now become the competitive sports of chess, mental quiz, and skat-matches. Hunting is transmuted into sport, and after Hitler's assumption of power, marital arts becomes a concept as flexible as it is unambiguous. And each of these sports has its associations and clubs, and hence its sports officials. Everything is regulated and organized to the nth degree--truly, a new world. Nearly every kind of sport finds its literary adherents--indeed many, like motor racing, are treated in literature for the first time.

The transformation of life into sport that took place in the twenties is scarcely conceivable to us who live today. Stadiums and playing fields assume the role that religious shrines used to fill; the sport-palace is elevated to the cathedral of the mass age. The arena, the boxing ring becomes at least for a few days the center of attention of the world, the center of existence for numberless sports fans. On the one hand, sport is a serious kind of idealism for hundreds of thousands of active people who will never set any records and who know that they won't; on the other it is entertainment for millions upon millions, an entertainment operation, a part of the enormous amusement industry of the Weimar Republic unparalleled in all of Europe.(13) There, naive enthusiasm for sport; here unscrupulous business; on the one hand the harmless fan and sports enthusiast, on the other a cool promoter of sports events, manager of champions and aces, these mass idols, that new species of "city man"(14) who today sends

chemical products into foreign climes by the carload and tomorrow indulges in show business, subdivision: sport. The world of sports in the twenties was anything but uniform--it was colorful and variegated to the point of total contradiction. Amateurism and professionalism existed in a much-discussed state of tension.(15) Even the social structure of sport was controversial. There were sports for the rich and sports for the poor. Elegant golf and polo clubs, exclusive clubs for millionaires, for the chic tennis set, expensive automobile clubs for the upper class, but also thousands of workers' sport associations for the lower social classes.(16) Working class athletes also tried to break the social monopoly on sports by turning to kinds of sports like tennis, which had until then been the province of the rich and the "beautiful people."

The bourgeois who had been infected by sports fever, the would-be athlete hooked on the "moloch" of sport, became the butt of literary scorn. Paul Kornfeld, the quondam Expressionist playwright, gives us in his essay "Sport" (1930) an eloquent picture of this comical sports-enthusiast, who day in and day out shows up "in some costume or other: one time in tennis costume, another as a mountain climber, the next time as a sculler."(17) This sort of "social lion," neither particularly bright nor particularly stupid, in no sense interesting (but he makes up for that lack in wealth) is in Kornfeld's eyes, a clown.

To my question, however, "And what are you engaged in?" he reacted in a trice, and answered a trifle ecstatically, a trifle breathlessly: "Oh, just sports, the same old sports," meanwhile peering at me with a challenging, inquisitive expression, like a man who is curious to see what effect his words have, and expects to be praised or at least admired. He had uttered these words in the identical tone of voice in which a decade earlier he would have replied to the question, "And what are you doing?" with, "Oh, nothing except reading Dostoyevsky, nothing except reading Dostoyevsky!"

Erich Kästner takes aim at this most recent incarnation of the dandy as erstwhile skier in the final stanza of his poem, "Vornehme Leute, 1200 Meter hoch" (1928):

They sit in the grand hotels  
And talk a lot of sports.

And sometimes, clad in fur,  
 They even step before the grand hotel gate  
 And drive off again.(18)

Joachim Ringelnatz, author of a book called "Turngedichte" (1923), addresses this variety of his contemporaries in a voice full of scorn in the poem "Klimmzug!"

Come on! Come on! Don't be so superior.  
 Onwards and upwards to the skies.  
 If some flea should bite you on the ass  
 Don't reach back there for it with both hands.  
 Don't swerve so back and forth--  
 That's not fitting for a people of gymnasts and thinkers.(19)

The climb up is, as the first verse indicates, a "symbol for life"; another, to use Kästner's words, is the handstand. To be sure, in his sports-satire of 1932, "*Der Handstand auf der Loreley*," Kästner has his heroic gymnast (the word "hero" occurs four times in the eight strophes) ludicrously fall, and a p.s. is directed at the false heroism of such senseless master performances, such nerve-wracking sensations:

P.S. There's one thing more to add:  
 The gymnast wasn't survived by his wife and child.  
 On the other hand, one should feel sorry for them,  
 Because in the realm of heroes and sagas  
 Survivors are unimportant.(20)

But talk of a regular hatred of sports on the part of the intellectuals(21) is probably a fable so far as the twenties are concerned. On the contrary, enthusiasm for sports, uncritical lionization of sports activities, prevails in the books of this period. Some writers even admitted to being practicing athletes and even the most objectionable aspects of the sporting scene like crude prize-fights, the vapid and totally commercialized six-day cycle races, and the murderous auto-races with their fatal accidents, found their apotheosis in literature.

## II

There are two ready answers to the question of how sport could play such an exorbitant role in the Weimar Republic: the America-myth and the cult of technology is one; the need for greatness and for heroes to worship is the other. Obviously these are neither the only reasons nor the most profound causes for the triumphal victory procession of sport. However, they explain at least part of the general fascination of even the artists and writers. Let us therefore take a look at these two (intimately related) phenomena.

It was not England, the land of the origin of modern sport, the homeland of "sportmanship," that provided the model after 1918; no, it was rough America and its hardened sportsmen. The United States was considered the Mecca and Medina of spectator sports. However, America was, as the course of the War had shown, at the same time the technical giant, the empire of the machine, dominated by a positive mythos of technology that was worshipped uncritically. And so, sport and technology entered into a marriage in the German literature and art of the postwar period under the auspices of "Americanism." About 1930 the painter, Willi Baumeister, created his *Sportbilder* as an separated group of works and entitled a portfolio of graphics *Sport und Maschine*.<sup>(22)</sup> Brecht sang of the "Singenden Steyrwagen."<sup>(23)</sup> In Kasimir Edschmid's novel *Sport um Gagaly*, driving lessons for a motor nut consist primarily in instruction in the passion of "falling in love with engines"; indeed passion is, according to this "modern hero," inherent in the engine itself; the pupil must comprehend "the true fantastic nature of the machine," its anthropomorphic character. <sup>(24)</sup> In the quarter of a hundred pages of the chapter "Rennen auf der Via Aemilia," the bitter battle of the engines and their lovers is described. A car race is also staged in the second act (8th scene) of the play *Die Petroleuminsel* that Brecht and Lion Feuchtwanger wrote in 1923; one is particularly astonished by the exotic setting--an oil platform in the Caribbean or off the west coast of the United States.

Together with cars and motorcycles, the airplane represented a main attraction in motorized sports. Here it was rarely a matter of deadly duels as in the champions of the speedway, and not at all a matter of nerve-wracking, roaring, screaming engines, speeding

12-cylinder cars that raced by the stands in fractions of a second, and seldom a matter of great sums of money, although there were victories, trophies, prizes and records. The sport-pilot, a lonely adventurer without public (except at take-off and landing), primarily set records for speed, altitude, and distance; aside from this he was concerned with the fame of being the first. The flier Peter Supf tried to describe this activity in poetry with modest skill. When Brecht wrote his radio play *Der Ozeanflug* together with the composer Kurt Weill (it was printed in Ullstein's magazine *Uhu* in 1929)(25) without once mentioning Charles Lindbergh's name,(26) this formally original work turned into an encomium on the American national hero, who represented the incarnation of the modern adventurer and conqueror (Brecht, like Edschmid, had abundantly depicted heroic adventurers and conquerors in verse and prose before 1920).

America, or more exactly the Anglo-Saxon world, for a long time provided the champions in such highly popular varieties of sport during the twenties as bicycle racing, boxing and tennis. As a juror of a lyric poetry competition in 1926 run by the prominent magazine *Die literarische Welt*, Brecht almost provocatively gave the prize to an artistically insignificant sports poem by Hannes Küpper, "He! He! The Iron Man!" The hymn to the iron man, the "human wonder," who represents the six-day bicycle race champion Reggie MacNamara, runs:

The legend surrounds him  
That his legs, arms and hands  
Were made of wrought iron  
One bright night in Sidney  
He, He! The Iron Man!

His heart's a coiled spring of steel  
Free of feelings and human pain;  
His brain's just the big control panel  
For the dynamo's power and braking  
He, He! the Iron Man!

His nerves are thick hunks of cable  
Loaded with volts and amperes,  
For:  
This bionic man was not meant at first

To be a six-day racer on this earth.  
 He was conceived to be a new Caesar--  
 That's what his enormous iron power is for.  
 He, He! the Iron Man!  
 . . . .(27)

The machine man as hero! Brecht chose this text (which had previously adorned a cycling magazine and had been proclaimed over the loudspeaker in the Berlin *Sportpalast* during the races) over about 400 other entries--perhaps the most provocative award of a prize in history until then.(28) Walter Mehring, the Dadaist, had as early as the beginning of the twenties written a paean of about 150 lines, "Sechstagerennen," whose hectic staccato mimics the breathlessness of the events and anticipates the artless lyric style of the New Sobriety. The poem closes:

Right  
 At the start

The brains burn  
 in the track  
 free-wheeling  
 endless  
 up and at 'em  
 6 day  
 race!(29)

Eyewitnesses of these legendary six-day races like George F. Salmony(30) describe the Berlin *Sportpalast* as a raging witches' cauldron, as indeed Georg Kaiser in 1916 had depicted it in his Expressionist play, *Von morgens bis mitternachts* on (or rather behind) the stage.

The idol of the masses in the arenas was, however, the boxer, the purest incarnation of the heroic struggle of the individual. Here the slogan was "man against man." Until Max Schmeling's victory over Jack Sharkey in 1930 it had always been Americans who were considered the strongest men in the world; prize fighting was a part of the cult of America. Paul Zech, the former Expressionist, constructed a "Ballade von dem grossen Boxer Jack Dempsey" (he had become world champion heavyweight in 1919) in fifteen verses, all of which end in the repeated cry

from the audience, "DEMPSEY."

Not the black cross on the stock-market report  
 No wars and red catastrophes  
 fanned the hellish flames in the furnace  
 of the gazettes so much  
 As this childlike face, already history:  
 DEMPSEY

From the columns, garish and grotesquely distorted,  
 It sprang sputtering over to the neon lights,  
 And looked down on the raging chaos of bodies,  
 The revolts provoked by just one name:  
 DEMPSEY

A hundred thousand livid faces hollered and spelled the word  
 as if they had long ago forgotten how to read,  
 A hundred thousand jostled one another and stared  
 transfixed at the new fabulous being:  
 DEMSPSEY (Verses 1-3) (31)

The boxing fan Brecht, who hung a punching ball above his whiskey bottle, wrote in 1926 a little novella about a prizefighter, "Der Kinnhaken,"(32) (which reminds one of the boxing writer Hemingway) as well as a biographical document, "Der Lebenslauf des Boxers Samson-Körner," based on conversations with the German-American champion.(33) Furthermore, he erected a lyrical "Gedenktafel für 9 Weltmeister," a kind of collective chronicle-legend. It recapitulates in unsurpassable objectivity and brevity the history of modern boxing, which it celebrates and immortalizes without resorting to the traditional means of rhyme, metre, and the joining together of lines and ordering of verses. The text, which was written about 1926/1927 for a sport festival begins:

This is the history of the middleweight champions,  
 Their fights and careers  
 From 1884  
 Til today.

I begin the series with the year 1884

When the fights still lasted more than 56 and 70 rounds  
 And were only ended with a knock-out  
 And with *Jack Dempsey*,  
 Victor over George Fulljames,  
 The greatest fighter from the bare-knuckles days,  
 Defeated by

*Bob Fitzsimmons*, the father of boxing technique  
 Holder of the middleweight crown  
 And the heavyweight crown  
 For his victory of March 17, 1897 over Jim Corbett.  
 .....(34)

Prize fights occur in the novels of Felix Hollaender (*Das Erwachen des Donald Westhof*, 1927) and Heinrich Mann (*Die grosse Sache*, 1930). In the enchanting little fairy tales by Odön von Horvath, "Sportmärchen," (based partly on legends) tribute is of course paid to boxing in a simple, calm language and with gentle and melancholy irony. One of these tales is called, "Die beiden Magenschwinger"; another is called "Der Faustkampf, das Harfenkonzert und die Meinung des lieben Gottes"--both miles away from the unsentimental fight reporting of the *New Sobriety*.(35) When on the other hand Joachim Ringelnatz in "Boxkampf" (as always with derisive amusement and a sly wink) continues the joke even after a death in the ring, his linguistic virtuosity becomes a trifle tasteless in view of the unhappy circumstances. Still, the onomatopoetic beginning is worth reading:

Bums!--Kock from Canada--Bums!  
 Käsow from Moscow: Puff! puff!  
 Kock the Canadian: --Plumps!  
 Gets up again.  
 Whether then Käsow slams Kock,  
 Or whether he executes him,  
 Whether with a blow to the belly, a knock-out  
 Or it happens from the side--  
 In short, the merry hours flow along  
 Like children's piss.  
 .....(36)

It was, however, just this brutal harshness and pitilessness of the

boxing match that Brecht valued about it, whereas his friend Arnolt Bronnen asked for restraints and unlike Brecht argued for victory by points.(37) Brecht had spoken against a less brutal fighting style and less stringent rules in his "Die Todfeinde des Sportes": boxing ought not to be elevated to a "kind of art-form."(38) Brecht adherents, who shared his belief in the gentle that will overcome the brutal, and who sing his praises as the poet of humanity for his message of "friendliness" and "kindness," must be irritated by this text.

### III

Now to the second answer: hero-worship, the need for greatness. Since after the lost war soldiers and high officers no longer commanded total respect, there remained, according to Heinz Landmann,(39) only three types of "great man": the multimillionaire, the film-diva (and her male counterpart) and the sports champion. But only the last of these was worshipped completely for himself (the financial boss was respected simply because of his money; the film actor for his roles). In fact, it is "the triumph of one body over another" that is acclaimed, and not achievement, victory, success in itself. It is not the spiritual, human, perhaps even artistic feat of the champion that he sometimes accomplishes, but rather "the purely physical maximum achievement" that is applauded--the greatest strength, the highest speed is celebrated, which indeed corresponds to the definition of the epoch as the "physical century." To be sure, Landmann agrees, it is understandable that the champion as "the victor in the struggle" occupies the empty place of the *Übermensch* and becomes "the true folk hero"; nevertheless, his activity remains senseless. For the meaning of struggle and victory in the case of earlier heroes had been that they risked their lives; this is seldom the case in sports, however. Records and sensations, success and victory do not in themselves lend meaning, and for Landmann it is, "so to speak, the external façade of heroism and not [his] deeper essence" that is perceived and adored in the champion. In fact, the demi-gods of sports of the day are no mythical figures, but "only a faithful imitation of the human-all-too-human within ourselves." And, I would like to add: the spectator secretly celebrates in his idol himself; he desires

greatness for himself, i.e. that strong sense of individuality, uniqueness that the process of collectivization makes impossible.

The literature of the Weimar Republic pandered to the pipe-dream of the "great man" in the most various ways, not in spite of but because the authors had correctly perceived the spirit of the times. The demand in the twenties for heroes was considerable--their Napoleon-cult is an index of this. Great men figure significantly in a whole series of *Zeitromanen* (novels that represent the problems of their age): as unscrupulous business leaders, film czars, statesmen, politicians, feudal lords--a strange mixture of reluctant respect and revealing condemnation on the part of the authors. And also, the purely physical type of the athlete now expands to heroic dimensions, but it is spared such ambiguity. "Smart people know," we read in René Schickele's novel *Symphonie für Jazz* (1929), "that no one is indispensable, not even the *Kaiser*, not even the dear Lord Himself. Both are replaced completely by sportsmen. Yesterday it was the film stars." Not only do we say "the divine Garbo" but also "the divine Lenglen." And "Big Till" is not just great in physical dimensions.(40) The sportsman or sportswoman, now included among the greats of this earth, have become socially acceptable; they belong to the *crème de la crème*. The powerful collect them, regard them as their equals and occasionally even adopt the dress of this or that variety of sport. And if the greats (or even the luminaries of the day) were now always active as boxers, wrestlers, soccer-players and six-day cyclists, then they possibly attended Breitensträter's boxing school or went in for more modish ways of engaging in sports, dressed up in snow-white linen of the tennis-freaks, climbed into the overalls of the race-driver and pilots, put on the breeches of the riders or the appropriate togs of mountaineers and skiers.

Sport becomes the *dernier cri* of snobism, captured masterfully in Kasimir Edschmid's *Sport um Gagaly*. By no means written as a critical exposé, this novel of 1928 which received an olympic medal in the same year is representative of the ambitious popular literature of the day--a veritable gold-mine for the ideological critics of the New Sobriety. The book provides insights into the bourgeois psyche of the twenties and its hidden longings, not the least of which were those for individual greatness and heroism. As the single German sport-novel (in the more restricted sense of the word) that issued from the pen of a writer between the end of the War and the Hitler state, it deserves

more careful examination.

#### IV

The athletic haunts of the protagonists of Edschmid's novel are far removed from the vulgar depths of sweaty boxing rings and the beery mists of the sports arena. This writer's pseudo-aristocracy shifts the sporting events to the large agrarian estate of a Hungarian count, to exquisite tennis courts, regatta courses, race tracks in Italy. The novel revolves around a tiny clique of the nobility of birth and from industry, whose members also possess inner nobility, spiritual greatness, and nobility of character. The common sort of people are mentioned only twice in some 350 pages as "inferior people" and (in the traditional terminology of the German upper class) as "Kerle."

Four persons determine the plot: the Italian, Cesare Passari; the Hungarian Count Francis Berchthold, the Hungarian Countess Gagaly Madosdy, and the Transylvanian comtesse, Pista Tossut. Around them are arranged a number of old Hungarian magnates, no longer quite up-to-date, as well as a Russian Prince who serves as a tennis instructor. The foursome mentioned above, individually and as a group addicted to sport, has "spirit" and "genius." Passari combines in one person the "Victor of Monza" (i.e. he is one of the best racing drivers in the world), one of two heirs to the Fiat fortune (and consequently filthy rich), and moreover a diplomat (evidently a sinecure, since his professional activity is never mentioned). In this figure Edschmid concentrates his idea of an aristocracy for the modern age which, completely independent in both an internal and external sense, is occupied solely with its own self-realization via sport. As a sportsman, the Italian (usually referred to simply as "the athlete") embodies in an apparently contradictory way both the "new type of sporting spirit" and the return to the sport of Greek antiquity. Victory or even filthy lucre are not Passari's highest goals in athletic competition; rather they are a development of his ego, a complete sense of his identity, self-assertion. He is a thinking athlete who combines within himself "spiritual power" and "physical power" and possesses "spiritual acuity." A "spiritual passion" drives him toward new records, not dull instinct, the passion of the

struggle, the will to win or to achieve a new record. A chivalrous opponent, he can even sometimes renounce victory or be satisfied with the role of a moral victor when the actual victor has behaved shabbily. "Spirit" differentiates between two kinds of athletes, Passari and Brilli Peri, or, to use a historical comparison: the Roman gladiator in Naples and the Greek athlete in Delphi (cf p. 339).

Edschmid's model sportsman is a hybrid of Greek antiquity, imperial England and modern America. In him the "type of the heroic man" of ancient Attica is reborn, grafted onto the correct and fair Oxford gentleman as well as the elasticity and sensitivity of the gilded youth of Boston. And in addition, there is the American predilection for engines and machines. For a Passari, adventure and danger are the motivating forces; his motto is "live dangerously." One can ignore Edschmid's Nietzscheanism as little as his proximity to pre- and crypto-fascist intellectual currents from Marinetti to d'Annunzio (who were similarly interested in an intensification of life in an asocial super ego).

Here is the root of the element of the heroic in Edschmid which classifies the athlete as one of the "great men." The heroic has deserted Napoleon for a soccer player (p. 56). With cannons of a heroic size, a heroic cult is promoted. Here we are dealing with "heroic courage" within the realm of "sporting passion"; indeed the sporting spirit and heroism are identified as one, and in the noble Madosdy a heroism that avoids calling any attention to itself is affirmed.

The lives, thoughts and emotions of the three lovers revolve with monotonous exclusivity around sport. In Pista (who at the outset is a fifteen-year-old country lass) the awakening and development of a sportswoman are described. A "sporting spirit" (the term occurs a dozen times) informs the three, a "sporting state of mind," indeed a "sporting passion" that replaces the old libidinous fixation on the opposite sex (or varies it). This new type of the "sporting man" is to be sure a very old type--namely the bellicose genius filled with competitive spirit, as he exists in various mythologies. Edschmid is therefore part of the many-voiced chorus of those who tried in the twenties to revive mythos as a kind of substitute for religion. Athletic achievements reach apparently to "almost mythological depths," successes are able to release "mythic satisfaction"; Passari possesses a "conception of the sporting spirit that is mythic in its objectivity"; Madosdy

has achieved "a certain mythos in striking balls"; in fact, even the young girl Pista, touted by Passari as the wonder of the coming generation, is someone "whose most vital strength approaches mythos"--an irresponsibly vague and glib use of the concept of mythos, whose dignity is misused to lend a new central value, to sport, an aura of good sense, greatness and profundity.

The "athletic genius" (p. 15) is to possess the capability of penetrating mythic glens. However, the ridiculous exaggerations and absurd maxims of Passari negate this decisively: the athlete considers the invention of knickers, for example, more grandiose than ten volumes of Rousseau were for the world of 1761; today, Lord Byron would be a race-car driver, and the author considers the soul of his hero in no way inferior to that of Goethe's Werther. Such airy boasting and ratiocination, the earnestly light, casual tone of total lack of respect for anything and everything characterizes the New Sobriety as well as its predilection for the chic and the worldly--in language as well as in content. That words like "snobby" and "snobbism" and even a verb, "to snob," occur is deceptive, especially in view of the context. The tennis aces play like gods and goddesses; the champions of the speedways are at least "demigods." They all bear their fame without vanity. Behind their victories lurks "high-mindedness," and they revere their triumphs "as that most extreme bravery which in every epoch is a particular form of morality and which constantly and reciprocally captivates its representatives" (p. 120). For this new athletic nobility the question of their birth, their family-origin, is insignificant. Sport knows no barriers of class; fame surpasses all conventions, which, however, does not prevent the formation of a new social elite, that of this very athletic nobility (p. 178).

The ennobling of the ace athlete occurs not least through borrowing from antiquity, from Greek mythology and by flattering art-historical comparisons. Thus, Gagaly possesses the secret of "creating a plausible Diana who holds a Williams racket in her hand" (p. 123) "Athene in tennis shoes" is considered "an athletic and feminine ideal" (p. 136). Pista and Gagaly are referred to as "Amazons" (pp. 133, 242, 245). The examples taken from the history of European art to signify the bodies of these three people united by sport and love extend from Memling to the sword-carrying angels of Torcello. But the past does not suffice for elevation into the nobility; according to the New

Sobriety, the most recent version of the *Übermensch* must embody simultaneously the most modern tendencies. One of these is political asceticism--it is only the elderly who nowadays take a fancy to politics (p. 48). The young substitute Blériot, who was the first to fly across the Channel (p. 111), for Garibaldi: *Weltanschauung* vs. life style. Only for the elderly is art more sublime than life; our athletes maintain quite a different educational ideal. Passari wants to develop in Pista solely her talent for hitting a tennis ball. Her character, her spirit, even her body do not interest him (p. 84).

The athlete is the epitome of the spirit of the age. He manages without a lot of psychological fuss and soul-searching. For him, Ibsen's Nora in *A Doll's House* is simply "foolish"; "complications" are totally uninteresting. One is planted on one's "tennis-legs", free of moral considerations and without self-questioning in a "society without prejudice." Such a revolutionizing of moral concepts turns out to be even more radical for women than for men. In the wake of the cult of America, Edschmid promotes the new ideal of womanhood: the American hoyden. It is not by accident that Gagaly has an eccentric and emancipated mother. In her middle thirties, Gagaly has an "austere, very slim figure"; in a tennis match she exhibits the "energy of a man" as well as a "cold spirituality." In the spirit of the twenties Edschmid/Passari raves about the athletic "girl," the Amazon with neither hips nor breasts but instead a page-boy haircut and a feeling for "comradeship"--among men as well as women. Sex differences in behavior are virtually denied--they shrink into an "insignificant difference" (p. 246). The novel ends with the utopian prospect of an endless happiness without shadows, where the three athletes create for themselves with cool indifference and sophistication a refuge within society. Sheltered from it, they establish a *ménage à trois* and start out to set new records on the speedways and tennis courts--the happy inhabitants of an "age of sports."

Edschmid does not intend all of this to be taken ironically or even satirically. One discovers not even a trace of social criticism. The vision of a life totally devoted to sport, which is lived in a political and social vacuum is offered us for purposes of identification in an affirmative spirit as a possible reality, which is accessible at least to the beautiful people, those in an independent position. The illusionary character and snobbish nature of the novel are evident to us today. But when it appeared, it was at the

height of the consciousness of the time. It was published by what was at that time the leading publishing house for refined light reading, Paul Zsolnay.

## V

Hermann Broch, who describes the depressing "entertainment" of ladies' wrestling in the Germany of 1903 in his novel *Esch oder die Anarchie* (1931), could have lumped the sports-novel together with the kind of "specialized novel" that he considered to be in permanent danger of lapsing into kitsch. In fact, *Sport um Gagaly* exhibits (to the degree that one doesn't regard it altogether as a product of kitsch) at least a strong tendency toward trivial literature, with its emotional clichés and collective daydreams. This is not concealed by the pretentious smattering of intellectual luminaries and the forced modernity of an Americanism that is only apparently in contradiction to them.

Nevertheless, Edschmid did ambitiously expand the sports-novel into a whole philosophy of life, a description of a life-style and posture, an image of a form of existence even if it could be attained only by the privileged few, a handful of beautiful people. Equal ambition is not shown by Carl Haensel's novel, *Kampf ums Matterhorn*, which also appeared in 1928 and for which Broch's appellation "specialized novel" consequently seems appropriate. It represents the pinnacle of a sub-genre, the mountain climber epic, the "winter novels" turned out in serials by popular writers--a kind of alpinistic literature approaching non fiction, to which the genre of "mountain films" was soon added. In an effort to represent the magnificence of the world of the mountains as pure and sublime, beautiful and powerful nature, they formed a counterpart to the urban and industrial civilization and to the flatland with its Americanism.

Siegfried Kracauer exaggerated when he ascribed to this genre a proto-fascist tendency because it diverted its public from political and social questions.(41) Erich Kästner paid a belated tribute to the "winter novel" with his lengthy story, *Drei Männer im Schnee* (1934), and Odön von Horvath (who grew up in Austria) included mountain-climbing and skiing prominently in his "Sportmärchen." However, the most artistically significant example of literature dealing with skiing was written at the

beginning of the twenties by an author who didn't concern himself very much with sport at all: Thomas Mann. The famous chapter "Schnee" in the second part of the novel *Der Zauberberg*, where Hans Castorp tries his skill for the first time as a skier and nearly dies owing to the "dangerous lightheadedness" of a solitary ski-run, is generally considered one of the most striking passages of the book. The "highly civilized atmosphere" of the sanatorium "Berghof," which once again captivates Castorp after this adventure, is to be sure far more his world (and that of the author), and so there is just this one-time athletic excess. To Alex Nathan, the world record-holder and sports publicist, Mann denigrated the sport which seemed not quite proper to him and which he probably considered part of the bourgeois health craze, rather crudely as "a pastime for Boeotians." (42)

One novel continually neglected by the scanty research on sports literature will be briefly mentioned and not just to compensate for injustice: Marieluise Fleisser's single novel, *Mehltreisende Frieda Geier* (1931), which could also be considered as a long story. It represents a third possible type of the sport-novel. If Edschmid's *Sport um Gagaly* marks the pole of the extremely broad (i.e. expanded into a philosophy of life) sport-novel and Haensel's *Kampf ums Matterhorn* the opposite pole of the extremely narrow (reduced to the dimensions of alpinistic arcana) sport-novel, then Fleisser's book lies somewhere between the two. As its subtitle, "A Novel on Smoking, Athletics, Loving and Selling," indicates, it is not simply a matter of sports--this is only one of four themes. The version revised in 1972 is entitled *Eine Zierde für den Verein* (43)--the *Verein* is a swimming club in a small town on the Danube (undoubtedly Ingolstadt, the home town of the author) and thus inappropriately appears to be a pure sport-novel. Likewise, the new title directs all one's attention to the male protagonist, the "popular swimming phenomenon" Gustl, "Gustl-the-Swimmer," a "well-known swimmer," a "beloved crawler," who is even the Bavarian champion and the lover of Frieda (he is modelled after Bepp Haindl, husband of the author). In reality, the book occupies itself at least as much with the tribulations of a provincial club, and the insolence of athletic officials. It provides us with an interior view of a club and competition and offers inside information, which doesn't create a particularly pleasant impression of the sports movement. Instead of a banal lionization of sport, blind idealization, its ordinary reality

is demonstrated with a new, objective sobriety, for which purpose a poor provincial club is well-equipped. Perhaps such an integration of sport (as one phenomenon of life among others) into a broader aspect of existence is in the long run, even from the point of view of literature, the most promising pathway to a "poetry of sport."

## VI

It is astonishing enough that there arose in the twenties apart from pop-literature, the sports-columns and the immense amount of journalism on sports, scarcely one real sport-novel, no single sport-drama (if one doesn't count Fischer) and not even a proper sport-novella. This in no way corresponds to the significance that sport had in the life of the Weimar Republic. The contradistinction between this situation and German literature after 1945, which is far more interested in sport, is all the more remarkable, inasmuch as sport in the Bonn Republic by no means dominates the state of life so vociferously and faddishly as it had in the twenties. It is, however, worth reporting that before 1933 sport was several times chosen as a theme of the newest literary genre, the radio play: formal innovation and content corresponded to one another. Let me mention in this connection Rudolf Leonhard's radio play "Wettlauf," which employed "original-sound" and was broadcast in 1927 by the Imperial Broadcasting Company and honored with the radio-play award, also Brecht's "Radio-Kantate" (already referred to) of the same year, and Hermann Kasack's radio play about a tennis match, "Stimmen im Kampf," which was broadcast by the *Berliner Funkstunde* in 1930.(44) Like Leonhard's "Wettlauf," Melchior Fischer's eight act "Fussballspieler und Indianer" (1924) has been forgotten by the present-day reader. It bore the long-winded generic name, "For the Old World a Tragedy, for the New World a Comedy and vice versa" and ran to more than 200 printed pages. So a more precise stock-taking of the twenties will perhaps turn up one or another sample of sport literature previously overlooked by research, for example Mynona's grotesque "Das Pferderennen ohne Pferd."(45)

## VII

The spectator sport is a conscious or unconscious rebellion against a purely efficient and mechanistic life, against the materialistic dictates of ceaseless money-making. In the contemporary jargon of the social sciences, one would say that man seeks in sport, whether as an active athlete or as a passive spectator, relief from the iron laws of a goal-oriented, totally organized life that stands under the aegis of material, economic success. To be sure, in passive spectator sports, commercialized mass sport, and in the zeal for new records this protest has taken on a completely senseless form, but still it is subjectively comprehensible and understandable.

This altogether plausible-sounding interpretation was supplemented and deepened by the psychiatrist and philosopher Karl Jaspers in a brief stock-taking of the present age, published as volume 1000 in the Göschen series under the title *Die geistige Situation der Zeit*. In this widely discussed work Jaspers gives within the compass of less than two pages an objective picture of the state of sport in the twenties that is valid even today, in both its positive and in its darker aspects. The point of departure is Jaspers' assumption that sport is realized in those nonrational, physical, spontaneous and voluntaristic levels of human nature that remain unsatisfied at the alienated workplace and in the rational organization of existence. Later, the cultural sociologist Alexander Rüstow was to speak of the unpleasant "vital situation" of man in an industrial, urban civilization. (46) Sport was seen, therefore, as a breakthrough into directness, into the elemental, the dark, (or as Robert Musil put it in 1932), the "lower" layers of the ego. At first this breakthrough is the affair of the individual but is then organized and perverted as sport in its aspect as a mass phenomenon.

Jaspers' reflection begins: "The individual's existence as vitality creates its own space in sport, in a vestige of the satisfaction of authentic existence, in discipline, suppleness, skill. Through corporeality controlled by will, strength and courage assert themselves; the individual open to nature gains control of proximity to the world in its elements." (47)

Robert Musil says the same thing in his reflection, "Durch die Brillen des Sport," written in the mid-twenties, though not published until 1955 from his literary estate. Musil sees the

penchant for things athletic rooted in the "mystical needs of modern man." For him, in athletic activity "nothing less than a breaking out of the conscious personality, a withdrawal, occurs."(48)

Will, intention and consciousness, according to Musil, only disturb things--if the athlete wants to be successful the so-called ego has to be circumvented. Because for a moment he seeks the help of his reason and tries to act consciously, Ulrich, the protagonist in Musil's novel *Der Mann ohne Eigenschaften* (*The Man without Qualities*), loses his nocturnal slugfest with the hoodlums who attack him in the street. Ulrich understands the reason for his defeat (the defeat of a trained sportsman) immediately. In a later text on athletic matters, "Kunst und Moral des Crawlens" (1932), this is interpreted anthropologically: sport belongs, as Jaspers puts it, on the side of the vital, the animal part of man. Instead of constantly searching for the higher aspect of sports, man should finally realize that sport is at home in the "lower" layers of human nature. The "higher" and the "lower" are not of course different spheres, and to denigrate the lower, animal sphere of the pre-rational, subconscious, instinctive, involuntary, vital-physical as inferior simply reveals an out-dated psychology and anthropology. And according to Musil, it is equally inappropriate to undertake a transvaluation of all values and glorify the vital, the animal: "It is miraculous that one is like a horse; however, one should not believe that this is the superman."(49)

In this manner Musil, like Brecht, resisted misplaced *idealization* of sport that was promoted by ideologues, theoreticians, and functionaries of sport for rather obvious reasons. That sport, as Frank Thiess proclaimed in his essay "Die Geistigen und der Sport" (1927), had a "cultural mission,"(50) that was an important element of intellectual culture emphatically denied by Musil and Brecht. The vacuum, the intellectual void left by the collapse of the traditional European system of values, could not be filled by sport. Musil the sports fancier was as little ready as the sports fan Brecht to overestimate athletics. In the text "Als Papa Tennis lernte" (1931), Musil gives us to understand with equal measures of scorn and resignation that he considers the diagnosis of the "vacuum" correct, the prognosis of the "coming age of sport," however, dubious:

One feels a vacuum into which sport plunges. One doesn't quite know exactly what it is that takes the plunge, but everyone talks about it and so it must be something: that is how everything that has been called a high value has come to power.(51)

Chit-chat about "the spirit of sport," of a "culture of sport," of a sport that promotes values--the highly touted values of "noble competition," comradeship, chivalry, fairness and so forth--simply paper over the actual spiritlessness of the epoch in Musil's eyes, its absolute lack of spirit, that is in the final analysis, the "vacuum."

The purely ideological character of such chit-chat is obvious. Musil refers with ironic objectivity--or with objective irony--to the dislocations that a "physical century" has introduced with respect to the actual evaluations of the spiritual and the corporeal. Among human achievements it is "today the physical ones that give pleasure to almost all men, which one can certainly not claim of the spiritual ones."(52)

The condition of society is therefore the key to insight into the enigmatic sport craze of the twenties. Max Weber (who died in 1920), certainly the most important German sociologist of his day, saw the world at the end of a two-century long "process of rationalization," he saw that "living machine" which represents bureaucratic organization with its specialization of trained expertise working together with the "dead machine" in order to produce "the vessel of that bondage of the future, to which perhaps some day men will be forced to submit themselves unconsciously."(53)

In such a demystified world of the rational organization of existence that neither needs nor can find a place for the old variety of spirit in its closed system, both one's own athletic activity and mere spectator sports have a compensatory function. They compensate for a real or apparent lack of "life," of "experience"; they diminish the deficit of immediacy, the lacking self-development, ego-realization. In athletic life the inhabitant of the steel-hard vessel comes up against the dark and fateful thing that is banished from his thoroughly organized life--or at least he thinks he experiences it. Jaspers writes in *Die geistige Situation der Zeit*:

In the brightness of rational existence, where everything is known, or at least knowable, where fate ceases and only the

accidental remains, where the whole becomes infinitely boring and absolutely void of mystery despite all activity, then the urges of man, when he himself believes he no longer has a fate that binds him to the darkness, are attracted by at least the prospect of eccentric possibilities. The apparatus insures his satisfaction.(54)

Thus, the spiritual vacuum that spreads through the "steel-hard vessel" cannot or should not be filled by a new spirit as the Expressionists had ardently wished and hoped for ten years before. Instead, in the age of "New Sobriety," the salvation of the individual is seen in the vital, animalistic pre-rational-in *soma*, the body.

The Prague writer, Paul Kornfeld, who had made his reputation as an Expressionist, sees in his essay "Sport" (published in 1930 in the journal *Das Tage-Buch*) the spiritual vacuum embodied in that "mood of general relativism, of the thousandfold 'on-the-one hand and on-the-other hand,' from which indecisiveness and randomness follow almost automatically." (55) It's the mood of ambivalence and indecisiveness in which the Ulrich of Robert Musil's *Der Mann ohne Eigenschaften* finds himself: to the man without qualities there corresponds a time without qualities. In this connection, Kornfeld writes:

The spiritual characteristic of this age is that it has none, for it has all the characteristics there are... And so, nothing is certain, there are no values, the scale of values disappears, the world of the spirit disgraces itself, and only the visible remains in the life of the nation--the economy; in the life of the individual--the superficial, his external success; and in the phenomenon of man, the expressions of his vitality and the unambiguously perceivable, controllable, measurable achievements of his body.(56)

Kornfeld observes perceptively that in the final analysis it is not a matter of sport, hygiene and health, as has constantly been asserted. In reality, what happens is a one-sided glorification of the physical; we are experiencing presently triumph of the body based on faint-hearted lack of the spiritual power of man to control the "second nature" he himself creates. What, if not the spirit, should break out of the steel-hard vessel, the modern prison of life? As Kornfeld puts it:

It's a matter of the worship of the body torn out of all contexts, of the worship of its achievements, which by any human standard are not achievements at all, of the worship of muscles and sinews. But this is not the onesidedness of which we have just spoken; it is the plunge into idiocy, the outbreak of mass insanity. And those who perhaps, if only they wanted to make use of it, might have brains enough to contain the madness, to protest against it, go along, cheer along, for they are all afraid of losing their contact with their age.(57)

## NOTES

1. Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock, "Der Eislauf" (1764). Cf. Friedrich Karl Mathys, "Der Eislauf in Dichtung und Kunst," *Olympisches Feuer* 9, No. 5 (1959), 12-14.
2. Stefan George, "Die Lieblinge des Volkes. Der Ringer. Der Saitenspieler," *Die Bücher der Hirten- und Preisgedichte in Werke: Ausgabe in zwei Bänden* (1895; rpt. Düsseldorf: Helmut Küpper, 1968), I, 72.
3. Rainer Maria Rilke, "Der Ball," in: *Der Neuen Gedichte anderer Teil* (1908) in: *Werke in drei Bänden* (Frankfurt: Insel, 1966), I, 395.
4. The title of a reflection by Rudolf Hagelstange; for Göhler it was a "hymn to the educational values of sport." (Column 3036). Joseph Göhler, "Die Leibesübungen in der deutschen Sprache und Literatur." In: *Deutsche Philologie im Aufriss*, 2nd ed. (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1977), III, Col 2974-3050.
5. Pedagogues, theoreticians and bureaucrats of sport continue to cling to this idealising idea even today with iron tenacity (cf. for example the periodical founded by the German Olympic Society, *Olympisches Feuer*), although the reality of the sport industry refutes it daily and reveals it to be an untenable ideology.
6. See for example the well-known Austrian sculptor and graphic artist Alfred Hrdlicka.
7. Cf. notes 1-3, as well as (among others) Georg Britting's story, "Der Eisläufer," Rudolph G. Binding's *Reitvorschrift für eine Geliebte*, Hans Carossa's *Eine Kindheit* (racing) and poems by Ernst Bertram (javelin throwing), Weinheber (shot putting) and Manfred Hausmann (archery). Cp. Göhler, *Die Leibesübungen*," Col. 3027.
8. There are critical reflections on sport from the twenties by Musil, Brecht and Kornfeld, among others. Its inappropriate idealization and elevation to the realm of the spirit were especially vigorously attacked. Cf. Robert Musil, *Gesammelte*

*Werke in neun Bänden*, ed. Adolf Frisé (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1978), VII, 685-694 ("Als Papa Tennis lernte"), 694-698 ("Kunst und Moral des Kraulens"), 792-795 ("Durch die Brille des Sports"), 795-797 ("Randglossen zu Tennisplätzen"), and 798-799 ("Der Praterpreis").

See also Hajo Bernett, "Musils Deutung des Sports" in: *Robert Musil: Leben, Werk, Wirkung*, ed. Karl Dinklage (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1960), pp. 145-156; Bertolt Brecht, "Die Krise des Sports" in: *Der Sport am Scheidewege*, ed. Willy Meisl (Heidelberg: Iris, 1928), pp. 144-146. [also in Brecht, *Gesammelte Werke in 20 Bänden* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1967), XX, 26-28] and "Die Todfeinde des Sports, "Sport und geistiges Schaffen," in: *Gesammelte Werke*, XX, 28-31. See also Paul Korfeld, "Sport" (cf. note 17).

9. Göhler, "Die Leibesübungen," Col. 3030.

10. Title of an anthology edited by Carl Diem published in Stuttgart: Olympischer Sportverlag, 1957 (preceded in 1925 by Diem's anthology *Poesie der Leibesübungen*).

11. Frank Thiess, "Die Geistigen und der Sport," *Die Neue Rundschau*, 38 (1927), Vol. 1, 293-305. On Thiess's connection with sport, see Heinz-Winfried Sabais, "Frank Thiess: Ein Dichter mit Kämpferherz," *Olympisches Feuer*, 3, No. 3. (1953), 17.

12. Title of a poem by Brecht in *Hausputz* (1927), *Gesammelte Werke*, VIII, 209-210.

13. See Walter Laqueur, *Weimar: Die Kultur der Republik* (Frankfurt: Ullstein, 1976), p. 55. Sport is dealt with only briefly. A more detailed discussion can be found in Jost Hermand and Frank Trommler, *Die Kultur der Weimarer Republik* (Munich: Nymphenburger Verlagshandlung, 1978), pp. 75-80. Peter Gay, *Die Republik der Aussenseiter* (1978), pp. 75-80. Peter Gay, *Die Republik der Aussenseiter* (Frankfurt: S. Fischer, 1970), does not mention sport at all.

14. Thiess, "Die Geistigen und der Sport," (cf. note 11), p. 295.

15. See in the collection *Der Sport am Scheidewege* (note 8) especially the foreword by Egon Erwin Kisch, "Der Sportsmann als Schiedsrichter seiner selbst," pp. 7-18; the title essay by the editor, pp. 19-131; the contribution by Thiess, "Zweierlei Sport," pp. 132-139. See also Thiess, "Die Geistigen und der Sport," op. cit., pp. 298ff. on the theme of professionalism.

16. See Helga Merker, "Arbeitersport," in: *Weimarer Republik*, ed. Kunstamt Kreuzberg (Berlin: n.p., 1977), pp. 602-630. The working men's sport movement grew rapidly in the early twenties: at the beginning of 1918 the ATSB (Worker's Gymnastic and Sport Club) had about 40,000 members; by the beginning of 1919, it already had more than 100,000 and in the following year, almost 350,000. The high-water mark was reached in 1923 with 650,000 and thereafter, the number of members fluctuated around 550,000. On Hitler's seizure of power, there were about 20,000 local clubs.

17. *Revolution mit Flötenmusik und andere kritische Prosa 1916-1932*, ed. Manon Maren-Griesbach (Heidelberg: Lothar Stiehm, 1977), pp. 229-236.
18. Erich Kästner, *Gesammelte Schriften* (Cologne: Kiepenheuer und Witsch, 1959), I, 159-160.
19. Joachim Ringelnatz, *Ringelnatz in kleiner Auswahl als Taschenbuch* (Berlin: Karl Henssel, 1964), p. 10.
20. Erich Kästner, *Gesammelte Schriften*, I, 231-232.
21. Alex Nathan, "Über den Sporthass in literarischen Kreisen," *Sport in Baden*, No. 26 (1958), p. 1. In the case of authors like Musil, Brecht, Kisch, and Thiess, who had themselves been either active athletes or followed sports actively, one can scarcely speak of "hatred of sport."
22. *Willie Baumeister: Gemälde*, ed. Götz Adriani (Tübingen: Kunsthalle, 1971). Cf. Heinz Spielmann, "Willi Baumeister: Das graphische Werk II," *Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunstsammlungen*, 10 (1965), 113-162 (Kat.-Nr. 81-85, 88).
23. Brecht, *Gesammelte Werke*, VIII, 318.
24. Edschmid, *Sport um Gagly* (Berlin: Paul Zsolnay, 1928), pp. 107-123 (chapter: Gas geben!). On Edschmid's propensities for sport see Paul Laven, "Dichter und Sport: Gespräch mit Kasimir Edschmid," *Olympisches Feuer*, 5, No. 12 (1955), 17122.
25. Brecht, *Gesammelte Werke*, II, 565-585. Also Contained in the edition of selections from *Uhu* edited by Christian Ferber (Frankfurt: Ullstein, 1979), pp. 144-149.
26. Brecht suppressed Lindbergh's name because of the latter's fascist tendencies, which had in the meantime become well known.
27. *Die Literarische Welt*, 3, No. 5 (1927), 7. Also in the article by Horst Denkler, "Sache und Stil," *Wirkendes Wort*, 18 (1968), 182. For a critique of Küpper's poem, see Denkler, p. 182f. and Hans Dieter Schäfer, "Naturdichtung und Neue Sachlichkeit," in *Die deutsche Literatur in der Weimarer Republik*, ed. Wolfgang Rothe (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1974), p. 363 ("unsachliche Mythisierung").
28. Brecht, "Kurzer Bericht über 400 (vierhundert) junge Lyriker," in: *Gesammelte Werke*, 18, 54-56.
29. quoted in *Poesie des Sports*, loc. cit., pp. 170-174.
30. G. F. Salmony, "Sport in den 'Goldenen Zwanzigern'," in: *Das grosse Spiel*, ed. Uwe Schultz (Frankfurt: Fischer Bücherei, Nr. 667, 1965), pp. 104-115.
31. quoted in *Olympisches Feuer*, 8 No. 7 (1958), 5. Also in: *Akzente*, 3 (1956), 365-367.
32. Brecht, *Gesammelte Werke*, 11, 116-120. From *Scherls Magazin* (1926).
33. Brecht, *Gesammelte Werke*, pp. 121-144. From *Scherls Magazin* (1926).
34. Bertolt Brecht, *Gedichte II* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1960), 132-135. In: *Gesammelte Werke*, 8 307-310; a different version appears under the title "Gedenktafel für 12 Weltmeister."

35. Odön von Horvath, *Gesammelte Werke*, ed. Traugott Krischke and Dieter Hildebrandt (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1978), p. 520 and p. 27.
36. *Ringelnatz in kleiner Auswahl*, pp. 13-14.
37. Arnolt Bronnen, "Sport und Risiko," in: *Der Sport am Scheidewege*, pp. 140-143.
38. Brecht, *Gesammelte Werke*, 20, pp. 28-29.
39. Heinze Landmann, "Heroenkult," in: *Der Sport am Scheidewege*, pp. 147-146.
40. The Belgian Suzanne Lenglen was the most famous tennis player of her time and also author of a book called *Tennis* (1927). William T. Tilden won at Wimbledon in 1920 and was the top-ranked player in the world.
41. Siegfried Kracauer, *Von Caligari zu Hitler*, Vol. 2 of *Schriften*, ed. Karsten Witte (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1979). On "Bergfilme" see especially pp. 273ff. (Luis Trenker) and pp. 271ff. (Arnold Fanck).
42. quoted by Göhler, "Die Leibesübungen," Col. 3033.
43. Marieluise Fleisser, *Gesammelte Werke*, ed. Günther Rühle (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1972). II, 7-204. See also "Sportgeist und Zeitkunst," *Gesammelte Werke*, II, 317-323.
44. In Heinz Schwitzke's anthology, *Frühe Hörspiele* (Munich: List Taschenbuch Nr. 217, 1962), pp. 59-71.
45. Mynona, *Die Bank der Spötter: Ein Unroman* (Munich: Kurt Wolff, 1919), pp. 37-45.
46. For that reason Rüstow demanded a new kind of "politics of vitality" in place of the traditional "social politics."
47. Karl Jaspers, *Die geistige Situation der Zeit* (Berlin Leipzig: Sammlung Göschen Nr. 1000, 1931), 60.
48. Musil, *Gesammelte Werke in neun Bänden* (cf. note 8), 793.
49. *Ibid.* 794.
50. Thiess, "Die Geistigen und der Sport" (cf. note 11), 298.
51. Musil, *Gesammelte Werke in neun Bänden* (cf. note 8), 691.
52. Musil, 794.
53. Max Weber, "Parlament und Regierung im neugeordneten Deutschland" (1918), in: *Gesammelte politische Schriften*, 3rd. edition (Tübingen: Mohr, 1971), 332.
54. Jaspers, *Die geistige Situation der Zeit* (cf. note 47), 61.
55. Kornfeld, "Sport" (cf. note 17), 234.
56. Kornfeld, 234.
57. Kornfeld, 235.